1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

## CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvaipini* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrmâ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekû*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkâdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days after delivery.

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE FAMILY.

*Parturition—Midwives—Confinements—Infanticidal Mother taken red-handed—Name this Child—Men's Names—Nicknames—Women's Names—How married people call to one another—List of Relationships.*

CHAP. VII.

844 [165]

THE act of bringing forth children seems very generally to be considered an easy one. In the course of my enquiries into the causes of death amongst adult women, I was told of two who had died in labour. If I were to judge solely by the opinions of the male sex, I should have no hesitation whatever in recording that the process of child-birth was a mere trifle: yet even after seeking more correct information from the women themselves, I could arrive at no other conclusion than that parturition, though a delicate matter, was an act which almost invariably passed off without great difficulty.

Men are never present during these family events, but apparently have to await the result outside. Three or four women—the house-full in fact—remain in attendance; one of whom is said to sit behind the patient supporting her frame: the others performing various offices tending to alleviate pain, and for the reception of the infant.

May not the ill-understood expression, 'She shall bear upon my knees,' Gen. xxx. 3, have reference to the position in which we find the person, who with a knee on each side of the expectant mother, squats behind to support her body?

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda



CHAP. VII.

'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts.

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci-

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Purzârsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel, pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid [POPE.]

Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda



About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinnaiven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pējāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pējāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Varshāl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tūr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tūr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nervala*, *mutlu*, or *hera* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mānāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purshārā*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Paikan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*hos*), the *Purshārā* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālkōki*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mānāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]



264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

512 In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would
[234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond
[264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

### 3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position,
[606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and
[278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertilkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.
845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She